BOOK II.

The

ASHTADHYAYI
of
PANINI.

"2"
"PARTS V—VIII."

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.

35-3

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT

r, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.
will be a very useful work. What
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in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.
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w Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.
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s also, in my opinion, very valuable
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? It ought to have a good sale in

Opinion of Professor V. Fausböl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.

* * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kasika.

Opinion of Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (Saale), 27th May, 1893.

* * * I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pâṇini. * * *

Opinion of Pandit Lalchandraji Vidyabhaskar, M.R.A.S. (London), Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिदे बुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदपरिवर्द्धितबुध्युदारान् वास्वन्वयाऽछरिशाचन्द्रविदांवरिष्ठान् ॥ १ ॥
दृष्ट्वातिमोदमुदिरोहमुदग्रशक्तीन् सच्छास्त्रसोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
सम्यक्कृलसंतु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्भावबूककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २
दृष्ट्वाद्भुतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्व्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्त्तिकरंप्रशस्तं ।
यच्छूरीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेंग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुबिम्बं ।
लोकेसुचित्ररचनाभरणैकशीला श्रिमेचचित्तमनसः प्रतिबिंबमाने ॥ ४ ॥
सर्वेंग्लिशप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेयजमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिं ।
स्यानेवसुप्रहितवित्तविवृत्तिवयं यद्वासुनासुविहितोंग्लिशभावपृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥

येनस्त्वया मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवते हिताय ॥ ६ ॥
ग्रन्थस्य यत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्त्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गणवतोप्यहमत्रविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभंसुखंगुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् । ७ ।
वाणीविलासवरतवास्तुमतये जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल वर्चभुजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ।'

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामर्शनिर्च श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (लालचंद्र) शर्म्मा गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजेश्वर योधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्वराणां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.

* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.

* * * The translator has spared no pains in preparing a translation which may place Pânini's celebrated work within the comprehension of people not deeply read in Sanskrit. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book before us are admirable, and considering the size of the book (it is estimated to extend to 2000 pages) the price appears to be extremely moderate.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.

* * * Judging from the first part before us, we must say that Babu Sris Chandra has succeeded well in the difficult work of translation, which seems to us to be at once lucid, full and exact. It is no exaggeration to say that Babu Sris Chandra's translation, when completed, will claim a prominent place among similar works by European Sanskrit Scholars.

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.

* * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable painstaking on the part of the translator.

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.

* * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon. * * * His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.

* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.

* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly

recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

* * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language.

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur), February, 1892.

* * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

* * * The translator has done his work conscientiously and faithfully. The translation of such a work into English, therefore, cannot but be a great boon to all students of the science of language and of Sanskrit literature in special. The translator deserves the help of the Government and the Chiefs of India.

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.

* * * If we may judge from the first part which lies before us, it will prove a very valuable help to the student of Pânini. * * So far as it goes it is creditably performed, and therefore deserves patronage from all students of Sanskrit and the Education Department.

The Arya Siddhanta (Allahabad), 15th November, 1891.

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुत बा० श्रीशचन्द्र वसु वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छपाते हैं। वास्तवमें यह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति का इस लिये है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में थोडा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी अच्छी जानते होंगे वे सहज में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अच्छे प्रकार अभ्यास बढ़ा सकेंगे। ज्यों २ हमारे प्रशस्त पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं मे अनुवाद होता जायगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उन्नति जानिये। यद्यपि मैं इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण दोषों को ठीक २ नहीं जान सकता तथापि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूत्र, दूसरे उस के पदच्छेद तृतीय संस्कृत में सूत्र की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के आगे अङ्गरेजी में सूत्र का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा, तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अध्याय पाद के जो २ सूत्र लगते हैं उन के पते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रत्युदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूत्रपर जो कोई वार्त्तिक वा परिभाषा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमरीति से सिद्ध किये हैं।

BOOK II.

THE

ASHṬÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRÍŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghazipúr.

Allahabad:
PUBLISHED BY SATYAJNAN CHATERJI,
at the Panini Office,
1894.

TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pânini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtâdhyâyî of Pânini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pânini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pânini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kâsikâ. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kâsikâ, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kâsikâ in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtâdhyâyî*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyâyas, i. e.*, eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pâdas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. S., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pânini Office,
Allahabad.

THE PUBLISHER.

ओ३म्.

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः, पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम्, यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhâshâ or interpreting aphorism. Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding कि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्गवद् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and श्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sûtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth;' as, शंकुलया + खण्डः = शंकुलाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sûtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, बलि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दारु देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sûtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकेभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकेभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.

Similarly, sûtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition: as भार्य्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sûtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शक्तस्त्वमक्षेषु, शौण्डः पिबति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sûtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि *i. e.* rules relating to letters. Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sûtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyâhâra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyâhâra यण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyâhâra अच् immediately follows;' as, दधि + अशान = दध्यशान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते, पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्त्तव्ये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the anga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (âmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sûtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udâtta accent on the beginning *i.e.*, first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udâtta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो द्रवत्पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डेनाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुना वृश्चन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an anga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gârga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डेनाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन् .

Why do we say 'an anga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udâtta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudâtta when it follows the word आम् there intervening a word between itself and आम्; as, आम् कुण्डेनाटन्! Here kundena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between आम् and the vocative word अटन् .

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the anga of the subsequent word; as, कूपे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्मे नमन् . Here had कूपे and चर्मे been the angas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart :—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीव्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन् .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As उच्चैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान .

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्, समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kadarakarmadhâraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samâsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word prâk is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of समास to various technical terms like अव्ययीभाव &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of समास.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह, सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्याम स्तत्रेद मुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sûtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, सुप्, सह, सुपा. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sûtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sûtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it the sûtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sûtra into two separate and simple sûtras, namely:—

(1). सह, सुप्, समस्यते समर्थेन 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sûtra 2, समस्यते from sûtra 3, and समर्थेन from sûtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यचलत् अनुप्रावर्षत्. The accent will depend upon these being considered as samâsa.

(2). सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयं पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayîbhâva samâsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikâra aphorism like the last. As far as sûtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayîbhâva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like घि, घु &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayîbhâva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यृद्धि-अर्थाभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-यौगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्पत्ति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्त्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sûtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्त्तते 'a story relating to women.' अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'

2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'

3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'

4. व्यृद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas;' दुर्यवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'

5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies;' निर्मशकं 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; निःशीतं.

7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'

8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे इति हरि वर्त्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'

10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. correspondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's ability.'

11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. यौगपद्यवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'

13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'

14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'

15. साकल्यवचन;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' *i.e.* the whole, not leaving even a scrap.

16. अन्तवचन;—As साग्नि as far as the chapter of fire (*i.e.* the whole Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा, असादृश्ये, (समर्थः सुप् सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्त्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathâ when it does not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyayîbhâva Samâsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व invite every old Brahmana. So also यथाध्यापकम् .

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यज्ञदत्तः As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This samâsa could have been included in the last sûtra clause 10, but making a separate sûtra shows that the word यथार्थवचन there, must be limited by the present sûtra, to first three meanings of the word यथा given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (स०सुपा अव्य०भा०समास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावदित्येतदव्ययमवधारणे वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word yâvat when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद् मत्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brâhmans ;if six pots, then invite six Brâhmans.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावद्दत्तं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अव्य०भा०समा०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकमात्रि 'a little of vegetable,' सूपप्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word sup was, by anuvritti from sûtra 2, understood in this sûtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sûtra 6 does not extend further into the subsequent sûtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा, (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' salâkâ 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and saṅkhyâ 'numerals' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchikâ which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice.' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over' द्विपरि, त्रिपरि and lastly चतुष्परि.' This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word vibhâshâ or option governs all succeeding sûtras.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like सुमद्रं, यथावृद्धं, अक्षपरि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-बहिः-अञ्चवः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि बहिस् अञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words apa, pari, bahiḥ and indeclinables ending in añchu may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be Avyayîbhâva.

As अपत्रिगर्तम् वृष्टो देवः or अपत्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, परित्रिगर्तम् or परित्रिगर्तेभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम् or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अंचु 'to go,' are उदंच् 'north' प्रांच् 'east,' &c.

From this sûtra we learn by inference (jñâpak) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-अभिविध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङित्येतन्मर्यादायामभिविधौ च वर्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word âṅ when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

As, आपाटलिपुत्रं or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pâtaliputra.' आकुमारं or आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of Pâṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभिप्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिह्नं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रती शब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्तमानौ विभाषा समस्येते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words abhi and prati when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word lakshaṇa means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshaṇa'? Observe स्रुघ्नं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna *i.e.*, having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्क्ता गावः or प्रत्यङ्क्ता गावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स० वि० अ० स० लक्षणेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sûtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayîbhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स० अ० वि० स० लक्षणेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word anu 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ; च (अव्ययीभावः०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्ग्वादयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययीभावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words tishṭhadgu, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are Avyayîbhâva compounds.

The words तिष्ठद्गु &c. are all irregularly formed Avyayîbhâva compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sûtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayîbhâva compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

To show that these words cannot be further compounded

तिष्ठद्गु, वहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संह्रियमाणबुसम्, समभूमि, समपदाति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्षमम्, निष्षमम्, अपरसमम्, आयतीसमम्, प्राह्णम्, प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रदक्षिणम्, अपरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. *e. g.* कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या, वा (स०अ०वि०ष०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words pâra 'across,' and madhya 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pâre and madhye, and the compound so formed is Avyayîbhâva.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sûtra ordains Avyayîbhâva instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारेगंगम् or गंगापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगामध्यम् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sûtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः.

संख्या वंश्येन ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंश्येन, (स० वि० अ० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyâkaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders *viz.*, Pâṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *viz.* Pâṇini, Patanjali and Sakatâyana or Kâtyâyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhâradwâjas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स० अ० वि० संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyâ) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunâs, पंचनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स० अ० वि० नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayîbhâva.

The anuvritti of the word sankhyâ does not extend to this sûtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गं 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also लोहितगंगम्, कृष्णगंगम्; शनैर्गंगम् II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेणा the 'river Krishnavena.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगंगो देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाऽधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहेः, यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sûtras.

From this sûtra as far as the sûtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sûtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pânini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karmadhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sûtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sûtra; as sûtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजी (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्व्यहः 'V. 4. 89, पंचगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सु॰सुपा॰स॰वि॰सह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषु गमिगाम्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atîta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prâpta 'who has obtained,' and âpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगात्यस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखापन्नः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; ओदन बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स॰वि॰त॰सु॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself, is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sûtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धौतौ पादौ 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were fbeore the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in kta which is a Nishṭhâ affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (स० वि० त० क्तेन स०) (द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word khatwâ in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As खट्वारूढः or खट्वाप्लुतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As खट्वामारूढः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmachârya *i.e.* the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वारूढः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (स० वि० त० सह क्तेन) (द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सामीत्येतदव्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सत्त्ववाचित्वात् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः सत् सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word sâmi meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the anuvṛitti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.' सामिपीतम् 'half-drunk' सामिभुक्तम् 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this samâsa is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (स०वि०त०स०द्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I. 1. 68, the word-form काल but special words denoting काल.

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly अहस्संक्रान्ताः, रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः applied to six Muhurtas (of 48 minutes each) which are called चर and अचर which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (स०वि० त०स०कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वरात्रकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रशोभना.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्-कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (स०वि०त०सु०सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थशब्देन च सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुपा are understood here: and the whole of this sûtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थ: provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुलयाखण्डः शंकुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्ष्णा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe :—गोभिर्वपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guṇa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of sankhyâ, or sarvanâma, or jâti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (स०वि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pûrva 'prior,' sadṛiśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ûnârtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and slakshṇa 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sûtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्वः 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a mâshâ,' असिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words.' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिलमिश्रः—गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम्, (स०वि०त०तृती०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तत्पुरुष च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a kṛit affix; and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिन्नः 'divided by the nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe भिक्षाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in sûtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe दात्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाछिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गले चोपकः.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्थ-वचने, (स० वि० तृ० कर्तृकरणे तृ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या तृतीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्ण्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेया नदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेह्यः कूपः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). बाष्पच्छेद्यानि तृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेय ओदनः.

This sûtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and ण्यत् are meant in the above sûtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तव्य, अनीय, यत्, क्यप्, ण्यत्, (see sûtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तव्य as in काकैः पातव्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (स० वि० तत० तृ० सु० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तमन्नवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यंजन; as दध्योदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरौदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण, मिश्री-करणम् (स०वि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि तृतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery;' गुडपृथुकाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थ अर्थ बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतैः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुपा are understood in this sûtra: and the whole sûtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दारु: = यूपदारु: 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननायोलूखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sûtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, भयेन, (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीभि रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sûtra qualifies it.

As वृकेभ्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' दस्युभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः.

This sûtra is an expansion of sûtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्म जुगुप्सुः.

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपत्रस्तैः, अल्पशः, (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपेत अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतैः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apoḍha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अल्पशः 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:— प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनादपत्रस्तः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (स०तत्०वि०सु०पञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dûra 'far,' and also the word krichchhra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परे = परश्शताः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परस्सहस्राः 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सुट्) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शौण्डैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शौण्डैः (स०तत्०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaunda 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डैः in the sûtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saunda.

As, अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त , 3 कितव , 4 व्याड , 5 प्रवीण , 6 संवीत , 7 अन्तर् when meaning place, 8 अधि , 9 पटु , (or अधिपटु) , 10 पण्डित , 11 कुशल , 12 चपल , 13 निपुण , 14 संव्याड ' 15 अन्त , and 16 सवीर .

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः, च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क- पक्व बन्ध इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यंतं समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Sânkâsya.' काम्पिल्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kâmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sûtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे , (स०त०वि०सु०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvânksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' *i.e.*, a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः .

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थेध्वाङ्क्षस्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः , ऋणे , (स०त०सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहदेयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरध्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येमाषाः, वने किंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sûtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः, (स०वि०त०सप्त०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्र्यवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्णकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्णकृतम् 'done in the after-noon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sûtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संध्यागर्जितं.

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, (स॰वि॰त॰स॰सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतं 'done there.' तत्रपीतं 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sûtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे, (स॰वि॰त॰स॰सह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sûtra also. See sûtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे, संमित-आदयः, च, (स० त० क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udâtta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sûtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहेनर्दी, 18 गेहेक्ष्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेदाही, 23 गेहेदृप्तः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्तः, 26 आखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्ष्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपटुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेटिरिटिरा, 34 कर्णेचुरुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन, (द्वि०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, the whole sûtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sûtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates ; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धप्ररूढम् 'burnt and healed.' एकशाटी 'having one petticoat.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्धस्ती 'old elephant.' जरद्गृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम् ; नवावसथम् ; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शाटी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhâraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये , संज्ञायाम् ; (स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyâ) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sûtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmaśamî-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmaśamî-in-the-west.' पंचाम्राः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च ॥५१॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद समाहारे , च (स०त०वि०दिक्संख्ये स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107) = पौर्वशाल: (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्वशालाप्रियः or अपरशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पाञ्चनापितिः 'relating to five barbers.' पाञ्चकपाल: 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' दशगवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पंचफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपूली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पंचकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (स० वि० तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitârtha:—as, पंचसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodâsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix अण् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sûtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावप्रियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरूप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + टच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपूली. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः, (स॰ वि॰ त॰ सु॰ सह॰ स॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुबन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचिः; 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरणं 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedanga,) nor the person who studies it *i. e.*, the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खंसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचिः.

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणश्चोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sûtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sûtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' मीमांसक-दुर्दुरूढः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोब्राह्मणः 'the bad Brâhmana' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके, कुत्सितैः, (स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pâpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sûtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sûtra, however, is so framed with regard to sûtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि, सामान्य-वचनैः, (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamâna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called समान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white.' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding' न्यग्रोध-परिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव तन्दुलाः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्, व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वाचि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्याद् उपमानवचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवाचि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sûtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्रइव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sûtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः *i. e.*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. ऋक्ष = A bear. 4. ऋषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम् }
2. मुखकमलम् } A lotus-like face.

3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः.

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jâmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कार्त्तवीर्यः:—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स० त० वि० सु० स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pûrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samâna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vîra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-आदिभिः, (सु०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śreṇî 'clâss' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sûtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च्वि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are âkṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. [This Samâsa is also an invariable Samâsa by reason of sûtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्वि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)]

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or कक. 3. पूग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्द = Name of Krishna or कुन्द. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. श्रमण = Sraman or श्रवण. 15. वदान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brâhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मत = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाम्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. दलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदितं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्लिष्टाक्लिशितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. यातानुयात. 6. क्रयाक्रयिका. 7. पुटापुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' *i.e.* an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसौश्रुत. 3. अजातौल्वलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishta 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गोः कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vrindâraka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुंजरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susîma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिप्रश्ने वर्त्तमानौ समर्थेन सुपा सह समस्येते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is katha, and which kâlâpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is katha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jâti; as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jâti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधि-करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किंराजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किंसखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किंगौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किंराजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-धेनु-वशा-वेहद्-बष्कयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०-वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jâti) is compounded with the words poṭâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' gṛishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇî 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktṛi 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इभपोटा 'a young female elephant' इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदश्वित् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशा:, गोवेहत्, गोबष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Katha', कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brâhmana who has mastered the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brâhmana well versed in the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (सु० त० वि० जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jâti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rûdhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्व मतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमचर्चिका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स० वि० त० स० सह समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या, अजात्या, (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jâti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यलवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य ओदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेन, (स०त०वि०सह समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णशबलः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

black and spotted red and spotted

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः, (स॰वि॰त॰स॰समा॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पंडित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा and कुमारश्रमणा 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या, (स॰त॰सु॰स॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पाद्वाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhiṇî, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kâlâkshî or Svastimatî.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe ब्राह्मणी गर्भिणी.

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः, च, स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवंति ॥

72. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक.

Siddhanta Kaumudi m. 1, p. 445

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्रव्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य. 8. पुनर्दाय ॥ एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता. 15. अपेहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19. एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा. 23. प्रेहिकर्दमा. 24. प्रोहकर्दमा. 25. विधमचूडा. 26. उद्धमचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा. 28. आहरचेला. 29. आहरवसना. 30. (आहरसेना). 31. आहरवनिता. 32. (आहरवितना). 33. कृन्तविचक्षणा. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36. उद्धमविधमा. 37. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा. 38. उत्पतनिपता. 39. उच्चावचम्. 40. उच्चनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नखप्रचम्. 44. निश्चप्रचम्. 45. अकिंचन. 46. स्नात्वाकालक. 47. पीत्वास्थिरक. 48. भुक्त्वासुहित. 49. प्रोष्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्यरोहिणी. 52. निषण्णश्यामा. 53. अपेहिप्रघसा. 54. एहिविघसा. 55 इहपञ्चमी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59. जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्बः). 61. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or म्ब; आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये. 62. अश्नीतपिबता. 63. पचतभृज्जता. 64. खादतमोदता. 65. खादतवमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिवपा. 68. आहरनिष्किरा. 69. आवपनिष्किरा. 70. उत्पचविपचा. 71. भिन्धिलवणा. 72. कृन्धिविचक्षणा. 73. पचलवणा. 74. पचप्रकूटा.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. अकुतोभयः. 2. कान्दिशीकः. 3. कन्दिशीकः. 4. आहोपुरुषिका. 5. अहमहमिका. 6, यदृच्छा. 7. एहिरेयाहिरा. 8. उन्मृजावमृजा. 9. द्रव्यान्तरम्. 10. अवश्यकार्यम्.

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तरशब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words pûrva 'front,' apara 'near,' adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekâdhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by sûtra (9); which would have placed the words 'pûrva' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्वं नाभेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्वं छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka). But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from sûtra VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमित्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध ardha when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sûtra also debars sutra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धं कोशातकी 'a half of the Koṡâtakî.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'? नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeṡin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekâdhikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitîya, 'second,' tritîya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sûtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sûtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा, चतुर्थभिक्षा, तुर्यभिक्षा.

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षातुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sûtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपन्ने, च, द्वितीयया, (स०त०वि०स०पु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words prâpta 'obtained,' and âpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekâdhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०वि०त०पु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्व्यहजातः ' two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थः स०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brâhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि त्वं जाल्म ' thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नञ् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अब्राह्मण: 'one like a Brâhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brâhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेद: 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपट: 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुदरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीति: 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद्, अकृता, (स० त० वि० सु० स०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्ययं शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word îshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडार: 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गल: 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकट: 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नत: 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, (स० वि० त० सु० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brâhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix; that word may be compoundedwith such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a kṛit-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मप्रव्रश्चनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशातनः 'Palâsadestroyer. leaf-cutter

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pâṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prâtipadavidhâna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vârtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स०-त०वि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yâjaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brâhmana's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि).

1. याजक. 2. पूजक. 3. परिचारक. 4. परिवेषक. 5. परिषेचक. 6. स्नापक or स्नातक. 7. अध्यापक. 8. उत्सादक or उत्सादक. 9. उद्वर्तक. 10. होतृ. 11. भर्तृ. 12. रथगणक. 13. पत्तिगणक. 14. पोतृ. 15. हर्तृ. 16. वर्तक.

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brâhmana-caste.' चंदनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison तर is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vârtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sûtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्धारणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्धारणे, (स०त०वि०सु० स०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sûtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhârana.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नक्षीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नध्यगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sûtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sûtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sûtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोज्ञानम्, मधुनोज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थ सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतैः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचमः 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशमः (2) काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौक्ल्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the doing of a Brâhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brâhmaṇa. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brâhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हृत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यत् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brâhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sûtra composer

Pâṇini.' We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sûtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sûtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, च, पूजायाम्, (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sûtra III. 2. 188. The present sûtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा: and pûjâ itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना, च, (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots *i. e.*, that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेषां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेषां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, च, (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of च does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sûtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sûtras by Pâṇini.'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि, (स०षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sûtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वु are अक; such as ण्वुवुल् or वुञ् or वुन् (sûtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आसिका 'your eating' भवतोऽग्रगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sûtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (स०षष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यौ तृजकौ ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अपां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्त्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (sûtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by तृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus ओदनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तूनां पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडाजीविकयोः, (सु॰त॰षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samâsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with sútra 10, does not extend further. The affix तृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe ओदनस्य भोजकः.

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (स॰त॰ नित्यसमर्थैःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह नित्यं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवादयः क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, ऊररीकृत्य 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) बहूरीकरोति ॥

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means 'a little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम् or कवोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आबद्धम् ॥

Vart:—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a heredetory teacher'; so also प्रान्तेवासी.

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम् = अतिखट्वः (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as अवक्रुष्टः कोकिलया = अवकोकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring.

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययनः 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; so also निर्वाराणसिः.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थाविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीइव 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (सु०त०-नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एधानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhâsha also arises from this sûtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sûtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kârakas also. Thus अश्वक्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते स्मा = अश्वक्रीत; add ङीष (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अमैवाव्ययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अव्ययेन (सु०त०-नि०स०उपपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽमैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणंकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word 'only' is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sûtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अग्रेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०उ०अमैवाऽव्ययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदंशस्तृतीयायामित्यतः प्रभृति यान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवाव्ययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sûtra III. 4. 47 and the sûtras that follow. As मूलकोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीडं or पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् शेते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sûtra III. 4 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhâna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhâshâ may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhâshâ. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, च, (स० त० तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvâ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sûtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा.

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrîhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sûtra 28. Thus चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम्, अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स० बहुव्रीहि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारषष्ठ्याश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

The Bahuvrihi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्राप्तमुदकं यं ग्रामं = प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशू रुद्रः 'Rûdra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतौदना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' चित्रगुर्देवदत्तः 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrihi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse :—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेशेन सुलभाजिनवाससा । वृषी पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrihi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पंचभिर्भुक्तमस्य .

Vart :—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrihi ; as उच्चैर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrihi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिलोमा 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्ट्रस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य सः = उष्ट्रमुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrihi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघातः = केशसंघातः , केशसंघातश्चूडाऽस्य = केशचूडः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽलंकारोऽस्य = सुवर्णालंकारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलाशः .

Vart :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभार्यः 'wifeless.'

Vart :—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrihi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmanî having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
संख्यया, अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः, संख्येये, (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्त्तते तया सहाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words âsanna 'near,' adûra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called sankhyâ (Numerals) are compounded with another sankhyâ word, when ~~the sense is that of a numeral or sankhyâ~~ that other word refers to an object to be counted (i.e. when it is used as an adj rather than as a noun). The compound is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten *i.e.* nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशाः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकदशाः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्राः: 'two or three.' द्विदशाः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brâhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पंच. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशति र्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि, अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वा दिक् dakshina-pûrvâ, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sûtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्र्याश्च कौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrîhi gets the designation of Sarvanâman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as दक्षिणा + पूर्वा = दक्षिणपूर्वा ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स॰बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तम्यन्ते सरूपे पदे तेनेति च तृतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध; as केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = केशाकेशि (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कचाकचि 'hair against hair'; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also मुशलामुशलि. In the above examples the samâsânta âffix इच् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलेश्च मुसलैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्य-योगे, (स॰बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्त्तमानं तेनेति तृतीयान्तेन सह समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrîhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स॰अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्त्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचयः 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामट गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्त्वचम्, वाग्दृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स॰उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Râjadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (*i.e.*, an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्रेवणम्. 3. लिप्तवासितम्. 4. नग्नमुषितम्. 5. सिक्तसंमृष्टम्. 6. मृष्टलुञ्चितम्. 7. अवक्लिन्नपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोप्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोप्तम्). 10. उप्तगाढम्. 11. उलूखलमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. आरग्वायनि. 15. (आरग्वायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथबाह्लीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18. शूद्रार्यम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभ्रुवम्. 22. दारगवम्. 23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 37. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारिमतम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालिधानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासककारण्डम्. 35. (पूलासककुरण्डम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम्. 39. (सिञ्जास्थ). 40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जाश्वत्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति). 44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49. पुत्रपशू. 50. केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ. 51. शिरोबिजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53. शिरोजानु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिषी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी. 58. गुणवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

द्वन्द्वे घि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, घि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे घ्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called घि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.' So also पटुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. Where there are more than one such घि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पटुमृदुशुक्लाः or पटुशुक्लमृदवः.

Why do we say 'Dvandva? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्, (स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बह्वष्वनियमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उष्ट्रखरम् 'the camel and the ass.' उष्ट्रशशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः.

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the घि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाद्यदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायू. Here अग्नि and वायु though घि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे:

अल्पाच्तरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाच्तरम्, (सoद्वन्द्वेपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाच्तरं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वंप्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus प्लक्ष + न्यग्रोध = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ; and धवखदिरपलाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभिवीणाः or वीणाशंखदुन्दुभयः.

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः; चित्रास्वाती; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ.

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशकाशं; शरशासम्.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' श्रद्धामेधे 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः 'Brâhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्राः 'two and three'; त्रिचतुराः 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे, बहुव्रीहौ, (स० पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वा प्रियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गड्वादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रगुः, शबलगुः.

Vart:—The sarvanâmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, द्विशुक्लः, द्विकृष्णः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanâma words with a saṅkhyâ word, the latter should stand first; as, द्व्यन्यः, त्र्यन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः.

Vart:—After the words गडु &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गडुकण्ठः '~~a-hump-necked~~'; गडुशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहुगडुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vârtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (स० बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शार्ङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭha or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्युद्यत 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

वाहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु (निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishthâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्नि. 2. जातपुत्र. 3. जातदन्त. 4. जातश्मश्रु. 5. तैलपीत. 6. घृतपीत. 7. मद्यपीत. 8. ऊढभार्य. 9. गतार्थ.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. गडुकण्ठ. 2. अस्युद्यत्. 3. (अस्युद्यत). 4. दण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि.

This आहिताग्नि class is âkṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये, (समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍârajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍâraḥ. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार. 2. गडुल. 3. खञ्ज. 4. खोड. 5. काण. 6. कुण्ठ. 7. खलति. 8. गौर. 9. वृद्ध. 10. भिक्षुक. 11. पिङ्ग. 12. पिङ्गल. 13. (पिङ्गल). 14. बटु. 15. तनु. 16. जठर. 17. बधिर. 18. मठर. 19. कब्ज. 20. बर्बर.

This sûtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhâraya compound'? Observe कडारपुरुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrîhi. Here ends the force of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

—:o:—

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः। यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes तिङ्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or lastly by compounds. Thus sûtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the objeet, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sûtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sûtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शत्य or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samâsa, as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामम् = प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारके या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु।
द्वितीयाऽऽम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms dvitiyâ &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pâṇini; they apply to the triads of सुप् affixes. कटं करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.'

The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोधः, अध्यधि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as उभयतो ग्रामं 'on both sides of the village'; सर्वतो ग्रामं 'on all sides of the village'; धिग्देवदत्तं 'fie to Devadatta'; उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् 'just over the village'; अध्यधि or अधोधो ग्रामम् 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round', समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभितो ग्रामम् 'round the village,' ग्रामं समया 'near the village'; हा देवदत्तं 'woe be to Devadatta'; बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किंचित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः, छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the chhandas (veda), the object of the verb hu 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word च 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or यवागूमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he throws barley-powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणशब्दौ निपातौ साहचर्याद् गृह्येते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarâ, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

The anuvṛitti of dvitîyâ is understood here and not that of tṛitîyâ. Both these words antarâ and antareṇa are Nipâtas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antarâ means 'between' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' ('exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.') As. अन्तरेण पुरुषकारं न किंचिल्लभ्यते 'nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च मां च कमण्डलुः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्वां मां तरेण शक्तः प्रतिकर्तुम् 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तक्षशिलां च पाटलिपुत्रं स्रुघ्नस्य प्राकारः.

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः, अत्यन्त-संयोगे; (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैश्रवणी राजन् शतयोजनमायता 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvâka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvaka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ, कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोः०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kârakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्त्वा देवदत्तो द्व्यहे द्व्यहाद्भोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयमिष्वासः क्रोशात् क्रोशे वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanîya (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संहितामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sâkalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्वसिंचत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanîya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case- affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपखार्याम् द्रोणः 'A Drona is more than a Khâri,' अधिब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchâlas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachanîyas i. e. apa, âñ and pari.

Ex. अप or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pâtaliputra.'

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachanîya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' माषानस्मैतिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges mâshâs for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान.

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिस्पन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्ववर्जिते द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and tho object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अध्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion)' nor in अश्वेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note:—The word adhvan includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.

Note:—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as पथे गच्छति.

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तादर्थ्ये उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्लृपिसंपद्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the sampradâna-kâraka (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' देवदत्ताय रोचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as यूपाय दारु 'wood is for making posts.' कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for the sake of cooking.' अवहननायोलूखलं 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart:—The verb क्लृप and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, मूत्राय कल्पते यवागूः 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यवागूः.

Vart:—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय विज्ञेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as गोभ्योहितं 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्याहर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits *i. e.*, to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपदस्य and स्थानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrîhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एधानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is एधः; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upadada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe प्रविश पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शकटेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we say 'when suppressed'? Observe एधानाहर्तुं व्रजति.

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाच्चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11.) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also त्यागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंवषड्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-वषड्-योगात्; च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा अलं वषट् इत्येतैर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words namah 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svâdhâ to the Pitṛis'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word अलं includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, शक्तः &c.; so वषडिन्द्राय, वषडग्नये.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictivley; as, स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्य-कर्मणि, अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्ति र्भवति अनादरे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यद्येतदप्राणिष्विति तदनावादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वा तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न त्वा बुसं बुसाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word मन्ये? Observe न त्वा तृणं चिन्तयामि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्यति. So also the sûtra uses the form मन्य with the vikarana श्यन्, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्वे.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as:—

अश्मानं दृषदं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुलूखलम्। अन्धायास्तं सुतं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न त्वां शृगालं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न त्वां शुने मन्ये is an exception.

Vart:—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sûtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nâvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative:—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' दात्रेण लुनाति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also, यज्ञदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परशुना छिनत्ति ॥

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पंचक and साहस as प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विद्रोणेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहार्थेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण सार्द्धं 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pâṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 वृद्धो यूना &c.,

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्यगौः.

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्ठः &c. The word aṅga in this sûtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंचित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, तस्य लक्षणमित्थं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' So also छात्रैरुपाध्यायम् 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकम् 'a Parivrâjaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिश्छात्रः 'a student. has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं।

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñâ the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' मात्रा or मातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलसाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरुच्यते ; तद्वाचिनस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तर्यृणे पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तरि, ऋणे, पञ्चमी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं यदृणं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. शताद्बद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे, अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्येन जाड्यात् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' पांडित्येन or पांडित्यात् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here धनेन कुलम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or प्रज्ञया मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुशब्दस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. अन्नस्य हेतो र्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया, च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth.

Ex. कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or येन हेतुना वसति.

Vart;—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मात् निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति. Similarly with the words

kârana and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने , पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ल्यब्लोपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रश्नाख्यानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्युक्तात्काले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अध्वनः प्रथमा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apâdâna-kâraka (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृकेभ्यो बिभेति (I. 4 25), अध्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्रात् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patali putra.'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankâsya is from Gavîdhuma four yojanas.' कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे .

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरर्त्तेदिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्य-आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्चू-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चूत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or ṛite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्थान्तरं, विलक्षणो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आरात् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sûtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. ऋते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also दिक्शब्दः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sûtra does not come after them.

षष्ट्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरे पञ्चम्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-विना-नानाभिः , तृतीया , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येतैर्योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex रामाद्रामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा ' without or different from Râma.'

This sûtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् . By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्दोषान् केनेमौ पातितौ द्रुमौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे , च , स्तोक-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य , असत्त्ववचनस्य , (तृतीया-पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकेऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पक्षे पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकं मुंचति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण).

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थैः , षष्ठी , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थैः शब्दैर्योगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of dûra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामात् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

The force of the word अन्यतरस्यां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sûtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमी तृतीयापि समुच्चीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of dûra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः, दूराय पथे देहि.

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्मसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतिन् 'who has comprehended;' *i. e.*, words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in Grammar.' परिगणिती याज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' आम्नाती छन्दसि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि साधुरसाधुर्वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sûtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' दरिद्रेषु आसीनेषु ऋद्धा भुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हंति, दंतयोर्हन्तिकुंजरम्।
केशेषु चमरीं हंति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया। यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of what-soever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हूयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः स भुंक्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुंक्ते स देवदत्तः.

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, च, अन्-आदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्राव्राजीत् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., नन्दाः पशव इव हताः पश्यतो राक्षसस्य 'the

Nândas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥.

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतैर्योगे षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्ती भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' îśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dâyâda 'an heir,' sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety,' and prasûta 'begotten.

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायादः or गोषु दायादः, गवां or गोषु साक्षी, प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sûtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे आसेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरणे कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्धारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्धारणम्, (षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्धारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा: 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' मनुष्याणां or मनुष्येषु क्षत्रिय: शूरतम: .

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतश्च निर्द्धारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाश्रये विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुरा: पाटलिपुत्रेभ्य: सुकुमारतरा: 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pâtaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्चायाम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधु: or निपुण: 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भृत्यो राज्ञ: 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्त: ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुक: 'longing for sleep.' केशै: or केशेषु प्रसित:

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तृतीया सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबन्तान्नक्षत्रशब्दात् तृतीयासप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः पललौदनं मघासु पललौदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मघासु ग्रहः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अद्यपुष्यः, अद्यकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कुण्डं 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, âḍhaka &c.. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामौ, हे रामाः ॥

साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सआमन्त्रितम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2 .78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एङ् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñâ, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिषो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

' to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote ' false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां, कर्मणि, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्मरणार्थाः । दय दानगतिरक्षणेषु । ईश ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of ' remembering,' (adhīk) and of daya ' to give,' ' to pity ' ' to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa ' to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः स्मरति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृञः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, प्रतियत्ने, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kṛi takes the sixth case-affix, when it means ' to impart a new quality or virtue ' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते ' the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, स is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां, भाववचनानाम्, अज्वरे, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिवर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य रुजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the thief' चौरस्यामयति आमयः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word शेष is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथृ नाधृ याच्ञोपतापैश्वर्याशीःषु पठ्यते , तस्याशीःक्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But माणवकमुपनाथति , अंग पुत्री-काधीष्व 'he solicits mânavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-क्राथ-पिषां , हिंसायाम् , (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट क्राथ पिष् इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and प्र , nâṭ to 'injure,' krâth,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure', takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति , निप्रहन्ति , निहन्ति , प्रहन्ति , प्रणिहन्ति , उन्नाटयति , क्राथयति , पिनष्टि वा , 'he injures the thief.'

The root जसु belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not Divâdi. हन with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken inany order. The root क्रथ् takes in the causative vriddhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvâdi and falls into the subdivision ghatâdi, and is called there a मित् verb; all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix णिच् (VI. 4. 92). Thus क्राथ is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानाः पिनष्टि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word शेष is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति, चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः, समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahṛi and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आय्? It takes आय् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्म०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vibhâga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sûtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपसर्गे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शलाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया, ब्राह्मणे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गामस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word शेष does not extend to this sûtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः, हविषः, देवता-सम्प्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेसति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brûhi (imperative singular of Divâdi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recepient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदो जुहुधि. Because the verb is not preshya or bruhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य. Because the recepient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे, बहुलं, छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगश्चन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका दार्वाघाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kâlaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्मा उपा मन्थत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृष्णोरात्र्यै, हिमवतो हस्ती.

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वोजायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstrua. So also या दतो धावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' या नखानि कृन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in याऽङ्क्ते तस्यै काणः याऽभ्यङ्क्ते तस्यै दुश्चर्मा, या केशान् प्रलिखति तस्यै खलति ॥ अहल्यायै जारः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजेः, च, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारके छन्दसि बहुलं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजत ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikaraṇa) after a word denoting time (kâla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽह्नोभुंक्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरह्नोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यपात्र्यां भुंक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is

not meant: as द्विरह्नो भुंक्ते. The शेष being understood we have द्विरह्नयधीते.

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, कृति। (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. कृतिः कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kalidâsa.' आहर्ता क्रतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शायिका 'your turn of lying down.' अपां स्रष्टा, पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता. But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन्कृति सोयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकाकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्ञदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the Âchârya' विचित्राहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sûtra by Panini.' Apte.

क्तस्य च, वर्त्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तस्य, च, वर्त्तमाने (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नपुंसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमतो महीपतेः 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पच्यमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृत्तं 'the dancing of a peacock.' छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the students.' कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम्.

This sûtra debars sûtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhâ affixes. This is an exception to that sûtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः, च ; (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तोऽधिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhâ contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेषां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in kṛit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः, 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक प्रतिषेधे कमेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तोसुन्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sûtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक = ल + ऊक = लोक.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल *i. e.*, the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्वसु (III. 2. 107) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, ददिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्ष आहुः ॥

Vart:—But the word कामुक in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुक्त्वा ॥

Vart;—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III. 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरप्शिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishthâ *i. e.*, क्त and क्तवतु; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम्.

6. The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyâhâra, formed by taking the तृ of शतृ (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of तृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128), चानश् (III. 2. 129), शतृ (III. 2. 130) and तृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पवमानः, नटमाघ्नानः, अधीयन्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान्।

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix शतृ, as, चोरं or चोरस्य द्विषन् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनोः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्ण्ययोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति चाधमर्ण्ये च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्वुल, वुन् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको व्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' ओदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ग्रामं गमी or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्तूनां पायकः, अवश्यं करी कटस्य ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following वर्षशतस्य पूरकः, पुत्रपौत्राणां दर्शकः? The words पूरक and दर्शक, though formed by अक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक which denotes futurity, *viz.*, III. 3. 10. The present sûtra relates to this latter अक, and not every अक in general.

कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कृत्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sûtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्टव्या ग्रामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या ग्राममजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैर्योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमा.

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सदृशो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvritti of वा was understood in this sûtra from the previous sûtra, yet the repitition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sûtra ; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sûtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sûtra, Professor Apte says:—'Pâṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यदारोहति दंतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां समारुरोह (Raghuvaṁsa VIII. 15). स्फुटोपमं भूतिसितेन शंभुना (Mâgh I. 4).'

चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतैर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पानुकर्षणार्थः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आयुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words âyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare.' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sûtra makes the employment of Dative optional : in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sûtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओश्म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu *i. e.*, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चगवं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपूली (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपूलीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः, च, प्राणि-तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्यङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, तथा तूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रीवं 'the head and neck' मार्दङ्गिक-पाणविकम् 'players on the mṛidaṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वारोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपादातम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् । (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थेणोरद्यतन्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उदगात् कठकालापम् 'kaṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यष्ठात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्ठुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इन् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्यन्ति कठकालापाः.

Note:—This sûtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyangar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ, in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.

अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, क्रतुः, अ-नपुंस-कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युक्रतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compoud of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रम् 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्बलभिदौ ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ? Because the word क्रतु: is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि प्रकृष्टाख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकवार्त्तिकम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus आराशस्त्रि 'the probe and the knife'; धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pânchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियौ "Brâhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jâti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jâti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jâti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and âmalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jâti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' उद्ध्यैरावती कुरुकुरु जाङ्गलम् ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yâmuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also मद्रकेकयाः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ, Jâmbaba and Sâlukinî' which are the names of two villages or grâma.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailâsa and the Gandhamâdana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grâma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pâtaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिक्षम् 'the louse and the nit'; दंशमशकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity: and शाश्वतिक: means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारमूषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; श्वशृगालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; अहिनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupâli and Sâlankâyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even

if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अ-निरवसितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवायम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिर्वासित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvâsita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandâla and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधूनि भवंति ॥

11. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम्.

गवाश्वादिः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. अजाविकम्. 5. अजैडकम्. 6. कुब्जवामनम्. 7. कुब्जकैरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10. स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. दासीमाणवकम्. 12. शाटीपिच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्रशशम्. 15. मूत्रशकृत्. 16. मूत्रपुरीषम्. 17. यकृन्मेदः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19. दर्भशरम्. 20. दर्भपूतीकम्. 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम्. 22. तृणोलपम्. 23. दासीदासम्. 24. कुटीकुटम्. 25. भगवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोऽश्वम् or गोऽश्वौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (द्वन्द्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वापर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvâ-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12 Thus, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kâsa grass'; व्रीहियवम् or व्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or षाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिकपिञ्जलम् or लाः 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an âmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वारोहौ 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; यूकालिक्षे 'a louse and a nit'; व्रीहियवौ 'a brîhi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा द्वन्द्वः एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति विभाषानुकर्षणार्थं चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्ध means words of contrary significations. च indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधौ 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipaya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sûtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sûtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी. 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी. 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती. 4. शिववैश्रवणौ. 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ. 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ. 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ. 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ. 9. इध्माबर्हिषी ॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी. 11. श्रद्धातपसी. 12. मेधातपसी. 13. अध्ययनतपसी. 14. उलूखलमुसले. 15. आद्यावसाने. 16. श्रद्धामेधे. 17. ऋक्सामे. 18. वाङ्मनसे.

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एतावत्त्वे, च, (न द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपदार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे गम्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikaraṇa) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten ~~sets of~~ teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदशं दन्तोष्ठं or उपदशा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten *i. e.*, nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदशं मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपदशा मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'nearly ten (nine or eleven) mṛidaṅga and paṇava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrîhi or an Avyayîbhâva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayîbhâva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrihi compound. As, उपदशं ; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायमेकवद्भावो विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽबन्तः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet.' शिरोग्रीवम् 'head and neck.'

This sûtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपूली, दशरथी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अन्, is optionally feminine and the न is elided; as, पञ्चतक्षम् or पञ्चतक्षी,

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्युगम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामह्नः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथः संख्याव्ययादेः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिस्त्रि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उन्मत्तगंगम् &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayîbhâva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word अह्न preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्याहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ् कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्समासं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sûtras.

This is a governing sûtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or. वा (II. 4. 25); but दृढसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); असेना (it being a compound with नञ्=अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadharaya.

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśînaras.

As, सौशमिकन्थम् 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरकन्थम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरणकन्था. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśînaras; as दाक्षिकन्था.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आचिख्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याचिख्यासायां तयोरुपज्ञोपक्रमयोरादेराचिख्यासायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalâpa &c., had their commencement with Pâṇini's invention'; व्याड्युपज्ञं दुष्करणं 'Vyâdi-invened Dushkaraṇa'; आढ्योपक्रमं प्रासादः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.' नन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Vâlmîki.' N. P. Prof. Bohthlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Pâṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गम्यमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शलभच्छायम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.*, groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sûtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरु०नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas.' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśâchas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Râkshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरु० नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनाथसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सेना-सुरा-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः । सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow', śâlâ 'house' and niśâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brâhmana army,' यवसुरम्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुड्यच्छायम्, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house,' श्वनिशम्, श्वनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadhâraya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्, द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यल्लिङ्गं तद्भवति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालंपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samâhâra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali; अर्द्धकौशातकी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्त, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodâsa prepared in five cups'; प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्त + जीविका) 'has obtained living.' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वडवौ, (लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववडवयोः पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववडवाविमौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च च्छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे इत्येतयो श्छन्दसि विषये पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantaśiśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिरावृतूनां प्रीणामि, अहोरात्रे इदं मूत्रः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sûtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाश्चितयः, अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम्, अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राविमौ पुण्यौ. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with râtra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samâsânta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्व्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, शंयुवाकः, सूक्तवाकः &c.,

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथो देशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrihi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धर्चादयः शब्दाः पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse', गोमयः and गोमयम् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus', शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमय. 3. कषाय. 4. कार्षापण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुणप. 7. (कुणप). 8. कपाट. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गूथ. 11. यूथ. 12. ध्वज. 13. कबन्ध. 14. पद्म. 15. गृह. 16. सरक. 17. कंस 18. दिवस. 19. यूष. 20. अन्धकार. 21. दण्ड. 22. कमण्डलु. 23. मण्ड. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप. 26. द्यूत. 27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्मन्. 30 मोदक. 31. शतमान. 32. यान. 33. नख. 34. नखर. 35. चरण. 36. पुच्छ. 37. दाडिम. 38. हिम. 39. रजत. 40. सक्तु. 40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र 43. घृत. 44. सैन्धव. 45. औषध. 46. आढक. 47. चषक. 48. द्रोण. 49. खलीन. 50. पात्रीव. 51. षष्टिक. 52. वारबाण. 53. (वारवाण) 54. प्रोथ. 55. कपित्थ. 56. शुष्क. 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59. शुल्क. 60. (शुल्ब). 66. शीधु. 52. कवच. 63. रेणु. 64. (ऋण.) 65. कपट. 66. शीकर. 67. मुसल. 68. सुवर्ण. 69. वर्ण. 70. पूर्व. 71. चमस. 72. क्षीर. 73. कर्ष 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टापद. 76. मङ्गल. 77. निधन. 78. निर्यास. 79. जृम्भ. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त. 82. बुस्त. 83. क्ष्वेडित. 84. शृङ्ग. 85. निगड 86. (खल). 87. मूलक 88. मधु. 89. मूल. 90. स्थूल. 91. शराव. 92. नाल. 93. वप्र. 94. विमान. 95. मुख. 96. प्रग्रीव. 97. शूल. 98. वज्र. 99. कटक. 100. कण्टक. 101. (कर्पट). 102. शिखर. 103. कल्क. 104. (वल्कल). 105. नटमक. 106. (नाटमस्तक). 107. वलय. 108. कुसुम. 109. तृण. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल. 112. किरीट. 113. (कुमुद). 114. अर्बुद. 115. अङ्कुश. 116. तिमिर. 117. आश्रम. 118. भूषण. 119. इल्कस. 120. (इल्वास). 121. मुकुल. 122. वसन्त. 123. तटाक. 124. (तडाग). 125. पिटक. 126. विटङ्क. 127. विडङ्क. 128. पिण्याक. 129. माष. 130. कोश. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. दैवत. 134. पिनाक. 135. समर. 136. स्थाणु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्पास. 141. (विशाल.) 142. चषाल 143. (चखाल.) 144. खण्ड. 145. दर. 146. विटप. 147. (रण). 148. (बल). 149. (मल). 150. मृणाल. 151. हस्त. 152. आर्द्र.

153. हल. 154. (सूच.) 155. ताण्डव. 156. गाण्डीव. 157. मण्डप. 158. पटह. 159. सौध. 160. योध. 161. पार्श्व. 162. शरीर. 163. फल. 164. (छल. 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. अम्बर. 169. बिम्ब. 170. कुट्टिम. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुक्कुट). 173. कुडप. 174. ककुद. 175. खण्डज. 176. तोमर. 177. तोरण. 178. मञ्चक. 179. पञ्चक. 180. पुङ्ख. 181. मध्य. 182. (बाल). 183. छल. 184. वल्मीक. 185. वर्ष. 186. वस्त्र. 187. वसु. 188. देह. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191. स्नेह. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्तन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क. 197. क्षेम. 198. शूक. 199. छत्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह). 203. मालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वल्कल). 208. कुञ्ज. 209. (कुञ्ज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाण). 213. भवन. 214. अरण्य. 215. पुलिन. 216. दृढ. 217. आसन. 218. ऐरावत. 219. शूर्प. 220. तीर्थ. 221. लोमन. 222. (लोमश). 223. तमाल. 224. लोह. 225. दण्डक. 226. शपथ. 227. प्रतिसर. 228. दारु. 229. धनुस्. 230. मान. 231. वर्चस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मठ. 235. सहस्र. 236. ओदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराह्ण. 240. नीड. 241. शकल. 242. तण्डुल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पद.नि ॥ इदमः, अन्वादेशे, अश, अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशविषयस्यादेशो भवत्यनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final म्. Anvâdeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै शाटकमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्य छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्य प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentence is not anvâdeśa: it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतदः, त्र-तसोः त्र-तसौ, च, अनुदात्तौ, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अशादेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि त्रतसावनुदात्तौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10) and तस् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes त्र and तस् are anudâtta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतस् 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे। 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व। 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5. अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvâdeśa is anudâtta.

द्वितीयाटौस्स्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्सु, एनः, (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोरन्वादेशविषययोरेनशब्द आदेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इदम् is also understood in this sûtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—इमं or एनं छात्रं छन्दोऽध्यापय, अथो एनं व्याकरणमध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also.' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिरधीता 'अथो एनेनाहरप्यधीतम्' 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं शीलम्, अथो एनयोः प्रभूतं स्वं 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word एनत्, neuter and singular, is also used in anvâdeśa: as, इदम् कुण्डमानय प्रक्षालयैनत् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sûtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तदार्द्धधातुके वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ârdhadhâtuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 42, 'that वध् is the substitute of हन् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is ârdhadhâtuka' must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, हन् is replaced by वध्, but not so in the Sârvadhâtuka लिङ् *i. e.*, the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वध्यात् 'may he kill'; but Potential हन्यात् let him kill.'

The word आर्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. *i. e.*, the sûtra does not mean 'when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sûtra being 'when the subject is an ârdhadhâtuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ârdhadhâtuka-affix to अस् 'to be,' we must first substitute भू for it, and then take the proper ârdhadhâtuka-affix which would come with regard to भू. Thus we can apply यत to भू by rule III 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels यत is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have भव्यम्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ârdhadhâtuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ल्यप्-ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिरादेशो भवति ल्यपि परतः तकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII.1.37) or an ârdhadhâtuka कित् affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध्य 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + य). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त).

The इ in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न (नुम्). So also the इ in वचि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = अन्नः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sûtra indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ. 'A bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sûtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, *i. e.*, जग्ध would (by maxim 'that which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaranga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe अद्यते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क'? Observe अत्तव्यम्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लृ ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लृ (अदः, आर्द्धधा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घस्लृभावेऽच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लृ is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अघसत्, अघसताम्, अघसन् 'he ate.' The लृ in घस्लृ is servile and indicates the substitution of अङ् for च्लि of the Aorist (III. 1. 55,) So also in desiderative, as, जिघत्सति, जिघत्सतः जिघत्सन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart:—The verb अद् is replaced by घस् when the affix अच् follows Thus प्र + अद् + अच् = घस् + अच = प्रघसः 'voracious.'

घञपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि अपि च परतोऽदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घञ् and अप् follow घस्लृ is the substitute of अद्.

घासः 'food, grass,' अद् + घञ् = घास + अ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity.' प्र + अद् + अप् = प्र + घस .

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं, छन्दसि, (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लृ is diversely substituted for अद्.

घस्तान्नूनम् । सग्धिश्चमे । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आत्तामद्य मध्यतो मेद उद्भृतम् .

The word बहुलं is used in this sûtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pâṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sûtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः, क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।
विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य, चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, घस्लृ, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽदोऽन्यतरस्यां घस्लादेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लृ is optionally the substitute of अद्.

जघास or आद 'he ate,' जक्षतुः or आदतुः 'they two ate,' जक्षुः or आदुः 'they all ate.' The word जक्षतुः is thus formed:—घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI.

1. 8) = व + वय् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = व + मय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 62) = ज + घय् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = ज + घ्य् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98.)=जक्षतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेञो वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञः, वयि, (लिट्यन्यतरस्याम्, आर्द्धः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेञो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of वेञ् 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेञ्. Then we have regularly वे + लिट् = वे + णल् = ववौ. The roots in ए, ऐ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1.	ववौ	वविव	वविम
2.	वविथ or ववाथ,	ववथुः	वव
3.	ववौ	ववतुः	ववुः

In this case samprasâraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.

When however we take the base वय्, the इ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वय् + णल्=वय्+वय् + अ (VI. 1. 8)=उय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 17)=उवाय ; the य is not changed into इ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + अतुस् = उय् + अतुः (VI. 1. 15) = उ + उय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = ऊयतुः The affix अतुस् being कित् affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is samprasâraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituted for य, *i. e.*, ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः and ऊयुः or ऊवुः ।

हनो वध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिङि (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति लिङि परत आर्द्धधातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill,' when the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'may he kill,' वध्यास्ताम् 'may they two kill,' वध्यासुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध ends with short अ, this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthânivat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist लुङ्, we have अवध् + ० + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthânivat prevents the vṛiddhi of अ of व which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि; च (हनो, वध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, वध् is the substitute of हन्.

अवधीत् 'he killed,' अवधीषुः 'they all killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sûtra (yoga-vibhâga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (हनो, वध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते। आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, वध् is optionally the substitute of हन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आवधिष्ट or आहत; आवधिषाताम् or आहसाताम्; आवधिषत or आहसत.

The verb हन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28). By sûtra I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after हन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the स is elided. Thus आहन् + सिच् + त = आहत.

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इण्वदिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went.' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went,' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sûtra though its anuvṛitti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगाधि भवता 'you went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ+गा+सिच्+त्=अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—गा is the substitute of इक् 'to remember' in the Aorist, as it is of इण्. Thus अध्यगात् 'he remembered.' अध्यगाताम्, अध्यगुः. The root इक् belongs to Adâdi class.

णौ गमिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ ; गमिः , अबोधने , (इणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्याययति 'causes to believe.' अधिगामयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अधिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि , च , (इणः , अबोधने , गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But अर्थान् प्रतीषिषति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अधिजिगमिषति The yoga-vibhâga indicates that the anuvṛitti of सन् only runs in the next sûtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गम् + सन् = गम् + गम् + स (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गम् + स (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गम् + स (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गम् + इट + स (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इङश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः , च , (सनि ; गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङश्च सनि परतो गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इङ् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अधिजिगांसते, ॰सेते, ॰सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इङ् is always preceded by the preposition अधि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् लिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ् , लिटि , (इङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङादेशो भवतीङो लिटि परतः ॥

49. गाम् is the substitute of इङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गाङ् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, ङ. Why has then this ङ् been added to it ? The object is that in the sûtra I. 2. 1. गाङ् there should mean this substitute गाङ् and not the verb गाङ् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजगे 'he studied'. अधिजगाते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लृङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लृङोः (इङः, वि, गाङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

50. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाङ् replaces इङ्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as ङित् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an Ârdhadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or ङ् follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed घु and of मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा, सा), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि+अ + गी + स्त), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत. In the alternative we have अध्यैष्ट, अध्यैषाताम् and अध्यैषत.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अध्यैष्यत, अध्यैष्येताम् and अध्यैष्यन्त.

णौ च संश्चङोः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङोः, (इङः, गाङ्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्परे चङ्परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

51. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् in the causative णि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chaṅ (Aorist).

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: गा + णिच्=गापि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अध्यजीगपत् or अध्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + णिच् = आ + णिच् = आ + प् + इ= आपि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेर्भूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्धातोर्भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आस, आसतुः, आसुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sûtra is explained by taking the term कृञ् in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyâhâra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिरादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ऊचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिङः ख्याञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिङः, ख्याञ्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिङः ख्याञादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्शादिरप्ययमादेश इष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याञ् is the substitute of चक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याञ् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ञ् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याञ् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with क्श instead of ख्श. Thus आक्शाता, आक्शातुम्, आक्शातव्यं.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संचक्ष्याः 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes अस and अन follow: as नृचक्षा राक्षसाः 'the Râkshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृचक्षः. The meaning of the root चक्ष् here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षणः पण्डितः; here the affix is अन.

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नम् 'food' (here the substitute जग्धि does not replace अद); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before ण्वुल्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for इण before the unâdi affix त्रन्); विचक्षणः (here चक्ष is not replaced by ख्या before अन); अजिरम् 'a court yard' (here अज is not replaced by व्यै as the next sûtra 56 requires).

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङः, ख्याञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङः ख्यामादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and by the last sûtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चक्ष्; the present sûtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यौ, आचख्यतुः and आचख्युः. In the alternative we have आचचक्षे, आचचक्षाते and आचचक्षिरे; 'he told &c.'

अजेर्व्यघञपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः, वी, अघञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्वीत्ययमादेशो भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो घञपौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञपोः प्रतिषेधे क्यप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वलादावार्द्धधातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अज् 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes घञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीयः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of घञ् and अप्'? Observe सम् + अज + घञ् = समाजः 'society'; उदाजः 'driving out': So also with अप्, as समजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उदजः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवीताः &c.

Vart:—Prohibition must also be stated (along with घञ् and अप्) of the affix क्यप्, as समज्या 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart:—The substitution is optional before ârdhadhâtukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyâhâra (all consonant except य) as प्रवेता or प्राजिता प्रवेतुम् or प्राजितुम्. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजेः वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of अज् when the affix यु (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix ल्युट्, the word यु in the Sûtra referring to this affix; as, प्रवयण: or प्राजनो दण्ड: 'driving stick or whip.'

ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्य-क्षत्रिय-आर्ष-ञितः, यूनि, लुग्, अण्-इञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् आर्षाद्ञितश्च परयोरणिञोर्यूनि लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अब्राह्मणगोत्रमात्रा युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151 and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory ञ्, the affix अण् and इञ् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुक्॥

1. Thus by sûtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य: (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sûtra, and we get the form कौरव्य: which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्य: is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: 'the word कौरव्य: belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix फिञ्. Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणि: (VII. 1. 2.)' To this we reply, the word कौरव्य: which we see in that list of तिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्य: which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikâdi word is formed by ण्य under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्य: which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix अण् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and श्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then श्वफल्क+अण् = श्वाफल्कः 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have श्वाफल्क + इञ् . Now this इञ् must be elided by the present sûtra. So that श्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sûtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and वसिष्ठ+अण्= वासिष्ठः ; the Yuvan affix इञ् willl similarly be elided after this; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory ञ . Thus sûtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words बिद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus बिद्+अञ्=बैदः ; Then add इञ् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have बैदः + इञ् . By the present rule this इञ् is elided and thus we have बैदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इञ् . Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अण् . Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix फिञ् comes after the words तिक् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus तिक + फिञ = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अण् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनि + अण् . By the present sûtra, this अण is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. I. 112 says:— 'The affix अण् comes after शिव &c., in forming Gotra.' कोहड + अण् = कौहड Now this is neither a word formed by एय nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having ञ goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इञ् will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इ ञ् (IV. I. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided?' An affix not denoting Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ + एय = वामरथ्यः 'a descendent of Vâmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अण् by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरथ्य + अण् =वामरथ्यः 'a pupil of Vâmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अण् and इञ् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षायणः Here the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as बौधिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरिः father, औदुम्बरिः son; भाण्डीजङ्घिः father, भाण्डीजङ्घिः son. Here, first इञ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then फक् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this फक् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (यूनि, लुग-णिञोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59. And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अण = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + फिञ (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इञ; (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sûtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकामि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावणि. 7. औदञ्चि. 8. औदव्रजि. 9. औदमेघि. 10. औदन्यजि. 11. औदमज्जि. 12. औदभृज्जि. 13. दैवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहक्षति. 16. भौलिङ्गि. 17. राणि. 18 औदन्वि. 19. औद्राहमानि. 20. औज्जिहानि. 21. औदशुद्धि. 22. तद्राजाच्चाणः. 23. तद्राज.

इञः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, प्राचाम्, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तायुवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागार + इञ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannâgara'; after this the Yuvan affix फक (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So मान्थरेषणिः father and son. The word प्राचाम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prâchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3. पारणि. 4. रावणि. 5. दैलीपि. 6. दैवति. 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. दैवमित्रि. 11. दैवमति. 12. दैवयज्ञि. 13. चाफट्टकि. 14. बैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि. 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसादि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रागोहनि. 23. नैमिश्रि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनासि. 28. आहिंसि. 29. आसुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्धकि. 32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपालि. 34. वैकर्णि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंज्ञकस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेनकृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vriddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आंगी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवांगः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवांगाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रे, (बहुषु, तेनैवास्त्रियाम्, लुग्)

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्याऽस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अण् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the descendents of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क. 2. लह्य. 3. द्रुह्य. 4. अयस्थूण. 5. अयःस्थूण. 6. तृणकर्ण. 7. सदामत्त. 8. कम्बलहार. 9. बहिर्योग. 10. कर्णाटक. 11. पर्णाढक. 12. पिण्डीजङ्घ. 13. बकसक्थ. 14. बकसक्थ. 15. विश्रि. 16. कुद्रि. 17. अजबस्ति. 18. मित्रयु. 19. रक्षोमुख. 20. जङ्घारथ. 21. उत्कास. 22. कटुक. 23. मथक. 24. मन्थक. 25. पुष्करद्. 26. पुष्करसद्. 27. विषपुट. 28. उपरिमेखल. 29. क्रोष्टुकमाय. 30. क्रोष्टुमान. 31. क्रोष्टुपाद. 32. क्रोष्टुमाय. 33. शीर्षमाय. 34. खरप. 35. पदक. 36. वर्मक. 37. भलन्दन. 38. भडिल. 39. भण्डिल. 40. भडित. 41. भण्डित.

यञञोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-अञोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञोऽञश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यञादीनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे षष्ठ्या उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. I. 105) and अञ् (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यञ् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः. Similarly, बिद + अञ् = बैदः (IV. I. 104); plural बिदाः and not बैदाः; similarly और्वः singular; और्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gârgya is beloved;' प्रियबैदाः: 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः, बैद्यः, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः; here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यञ् and अञ् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यस्य कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्गकुलं, गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुल or गर्गकुलं.

Similarly बैदस्य or बैदयोः कुलं = बैदकुलं or बिदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्गकुलं।

Why do we say 'singular or dual'? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं.

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्यं which is an अव्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ग्यस्य समीपं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ग्यः।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र्यादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ढक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अण् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ढक and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ भार्गवौ; plural अत्रयः, भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यः स्त्रियः।

बह्वच इञः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इञः प्राच्य-भरतेषु, (बहुषु॰ लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचः प्रातिपदिकाद् य इञ् विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV. I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारिः is पन्नागाराः, there being elision of इञ्; so also मंथरैषणाः plural of मान्थरैषणिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendents of Yudhishthira. But बैकिः and पौष्पिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be बैकयः and पौष्पयः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाकयः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिदासयः plural of हस्तिदासिः.

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपवनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + अञ् = गौपवनः, plural गौपवनाः; singular शैग्रवः, plural शैग्रवाः. The गोपवन &c. belong to Vidâdi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिग्रु, बिन्दु, भाजन, अश्व, अवतान, श्यामक and श्यापर्ण. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे, (बहु०लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनयः। तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः। There is elision of फिञ्. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भाण्डीरथयः = बंखरभण्डीरथाः; there is elision of इञ् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. वङ्खरभण्डीरथाः 3. उपकलमकाः (औपकायनाः + लामकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्). 4. पफकनरकाः (पाफकयः + नारकयः. IV. 1. 95. elision

of इञ्). बकनखगुदपरिणद्धाः, 6. उभ्रककुभाः (औभ्रवः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV, 1. 112, then the elision of इञ् and अण्). 7. जङ्घशान्तधुलाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8 उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of फिञ् and इञ्. 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इञ् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इञ्) 11. अग्निवेश—दासेरकाः (आग्निवेश्यः IV. 1. 105 + दासेरकदः IV, 1. 95, elision of both यञ् and इञ्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे चा द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sûtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भ्रष्टककपिष्ठलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्राष्टकि is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः. The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः. The plural of कार्ष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or कार्ष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कार्ष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or कार्ष्णसुन्दरयः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—

1. पण्डारक. 2. भण्डारक. 3. गडुक. 4. सुपर्यक. 5. सुपिष्ट. 6. मयूरकर्ण. 7. खारीजङ्घ. 8. शलावल. 9. पतञ्जल. 10. कठेरणि. 11. कुषीतक. 12. काशकृत्स्न. 13. निदाघ. 14. कलशीकण्ठ. 15. दामकण्ठ. 16. कृष्णपिंगल. 17. कर्णक. 18. पर्णक. 19. जटिलक. 20. बधिरक. 21. जन्तुक. 22. अनुलोम. 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक. 24. प्रतिलोम. 25. प्रतान. 26. अनभिहित. (27. चुडारक. 28. उदङ्क. 29. सुधायुक. 30. अबन्धक. 31. पदञ्जल. 32. अनुपद. 33. अपजग्ध. 34. कमक. 35. लेखाभ्र. 36. कमन्दक. 37. पिञ्जल. 38. मसूरकर्ण. 39. मदाघ. 40. कदामत्त. 41. दामकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्य च प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and ञम् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining afetr the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः. The affix अण् (IV. I. 114.) after आगस्त्य and the affix ञम् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कुण्डिनच् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word कुण्डिन has udâtta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in आगस्तीयाश्छात्रा (IV. 1. 89) कौण्डिनाश्छात्राः (IV. 2. III).

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः ,(लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or os a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46); as कष्टश्रितः 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टंश्रितः = कष्टश्रितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as भ &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb अद् 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus अद् + शप् + ति = अत्ति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills; द्वेष्टि' he envies. The Adâdi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adâdi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adâdi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति=हनति instead of हन्ति। So also, अहिः शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikaraṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as त्राध्वम् नो देवाः instead of त्रायध्वम् ॥

यङोऽचि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अचि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग् भवति अचि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेण बहुलंग्रहणमनुकृष्यते न तु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than अच् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुवः 'much cutter' (लोलुय + अच्); पोपुवः 'much purifier.' सनीस्रंसः from स्रंस 'to drop.' दनीध्वंसः from ध्वंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than अच्: thus शाकुनिको लालपीति, दुन्दुभिर्वावदीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-आदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लुर्भवति ॥

75. After the verbs हु 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyâdi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also बिभेति 'he fears. निनेक्ति from निज् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लुर्भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति.

So also there is ślu-elision of the vikaraṇas after roots other than those belonging to the JuhotyÂdi class. Thus; पूर्णां विवष्टि, जनिम विवक्ति.

गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाति-स्था-घु-पा-भूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था घु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सिचो लुग् भवति परस्मै पदेषु परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गापोर्ग्रहणे इण्पिबत्योर्ग्रहणम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गा 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of इण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अधात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and पा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of इण्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अपासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां ग्रामौ देवदत्तेन.

विभाषा घ्राधेट्शाच्छासः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, घ्रा-धेट्-शा-छा-सः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा धेट् शा छा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs घ्रा 'to smell,' धेट् 'to drink.' शा (शो) 'to pare,' छा (छो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada term inations are employed.

Thus अघ्रात् or अघ्रासीत् 'he smelled;' अधात् or अधासीत् 'he drank;' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अच्छात् or अच्छासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अघ्रासातां सुमनसौ देवदत्तेन ॥

The root धेट् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-थासोः, (सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त and थास् of the second person follow.

Thus अतत (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्ठाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात or असनिष्ट 'he gave.' असाथाः or असनिष्ठाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट यूयम् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसन्हृवरणशवृदहाद्वृच् कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे-घस ह्वर-णश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृच्-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, लेः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस ह्वर णश वृ दह आत् वृच् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य लेर्लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs घस् 'to eat' ह्वर 'to be crooked,' णश 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दह 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस we have अक्षन् in the sentence, अक्षन्न् पितरो ऽमी॑मदन्त पितरो॑ ऽतीतृपन्त पितरः॒ पितरः॒ शुन्ध॑ध्वम् (Yajurveda XIX. 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb ह्वृ we have माह्वर्मित्रस्य त्वम्. From नश we have प्रणक् in the following verse मानः शंसो अररुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य। रक्षा णोब्रह्मणस्पते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sûtra includes both वृङ् and वृञ्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्म जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विसी॑मतः सुरुचो॑ वेन आ॑वः। सबु॒ध्न्या उपमा अस्य विष्ठाः सतश्च योनिमसतश्च वि वः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्यभिनो॑ नेषिवस्यो मापस्फरीः पयसा मान आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, मित्रः देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः। आप्रा द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच gives us वर्क् as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्मिन्महाधने परा वर्ग्भारभृद्यथा। संवर्गं संरयिं जय ॥ (Rig. VIII 75. 12).

From कृ we have अक्रन् as in the following verse अक्रन् कर्म कर्मकृतः सह वाचा मयोभुवा । देवेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं प्रेत सचाभुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47).

From गम we have अग्मन; as in the following verse: वृतेव यन्तं बहुभिर्वसव्यै स्त्वेरग्निं जागृवांसो अनुग्मन् । रुशन्तमग्निं दर्शतं बृहन्तं वपावन्तं विश्वहा दीदिवांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. I.1).

From जन we have अज्ञत as अज्ञत वा अस्य दन्ताः. This is an example from the Brâhmaṇ literature, as the word मंत्र in the sûtra refers also to the Brâhmaṇ literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ले र्लुग् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (ल्लि) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचक्रे 'he endeavoured. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहांचक्रे, ईक्षांचक्रे ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' हृत्वा &c. Heie the case-affix is elided.

नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम्त्वपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययीभावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुग् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्य सुपो भवत्यपञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix ater an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in अ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sûtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आम् added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sûtra II. 1.6; as उपकुम्भंतिष्ठति 'upakumbha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayîbhâvâ compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिस्त्रि, अधिकुमारि.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayîbhâva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानय.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अव्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्त्योर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अव्ययीभावे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या ऋद्धि नदी समास संख्यावयवेभ्यो नित्यममिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayîbhâva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निधेहि or उपकुम्भम् निधेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart. The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhâva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्मत्तगङ्गम्। लोहितगङ्गम्। एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम्। The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vârtika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौ रसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and रस् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do;' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अध्येता, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe श्वः कर्तासि। श्वोऽध्येतासे ॥

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